

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KINSHA 08964 01 OF 02 241522Z

41

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W
----- 107312

R 241115Z OCT 74
FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9863
INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMCONSUL LUANDA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KINSHASA 8964

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CG EAID MASS SF AO PDEV EMIN CB PFOR PINS

SUBJECT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY EASUM'S MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT MOBUTU

1. SUMMARY. PRESIDENT MOBUTU ACCOMPANIED BY FOREIGN MINISTER UMBA RECEIVED ASST SECRETARY EASUM ACCOMPANED BY MYSELF AT LUBUMBASHI OCT 22. CONVERSATION INCLUDING LUNCH EXTENDED ALMOST TWO HOURS. PRESIDENT BEGAN SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION BY STRESSING IMPORTANCE HE ATTACHED TO MODERNIZING ZAIRE'S ARMED FORCES. THEREAFTER HE TOUCHED ON DOMESTIC ISSUES, IDEOLOGY AND AGRICULTURE CONCERNS, SHARP FALL IN INTERNATIONAL COPPER PRICES, EXPOUNDED AT LENGTH ON ANGOLA, CABINDA, SOUTH AFRICA, RHODESIA, AND NAMIBIA, ANSWERING EASUM'S AND MY QUESTIONS IN FORTHCOMING AND APPARENTLY STRAIGHTFORWARD FASHIN. ALSO BRIEFLY DISCUSSED WERE CAMBODIA, KOREA AND HIS SCHEDULED TRIP TO MOSCOW AND EASTERN EUROPE. END SUMMARY.

2. MILITARY. MOBUTU TOOK THE LEAD IN RASING ARMS QUESTION. HE TOLD EASUM OF IMPORTANCE HE ATTACHED TO MODERNIZING ZAIRE'S ARMED FORCES. HE SEEMED TO TAKE IT FOR GRANTED THAT WE UNDERSTOOD WHY BUT STRESSED HIS RESPONSIBILITY AS CHIEF OF STATE FOR ZAIRE'S SECURITY AND AS ARMY LEADER FOR DEVELOPMENT OF ARMED FORCES. HE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KINSHA 08964 01 OF 02 241522Z

EXPLICITLY INDICATED SATISFACTION WITH THE COURSE OF

DISCUSSIONS SO FAR HERE AND ESPECIALLY IN NEW YORK. NEITHER INITIALLY NOR SUBSEQUENTLY DID HE REFER TO IDEA OF JOINT MILITARY STUDY NOR TO NAVAL OR AIR DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS, NOR DID WE RAISE THESE QUESTIONS. AT LUNCH EASUM RETURNED TO SUBJECT OF ARMS, NOTING US DESIRE RESPOND AS APPROPRIATE BUT EXPLAINING CONGRESSIONAL LIMITATION ON FMS AND FACT THAT THERE WERE FAR MORE REQUESTS FROM AFRICAN COUNTRIES THAN WOULD FIT WITHIN CREDIT CEILING. MOBUTU SUGGESTED THAT ONE TIME ALLOCATION OF TEN MILLION DOLLARS FOR ZAIRE WITH OTHER CLAIMANTS DIVIDING REST OF PIE OR FALLING FURTHER BACK IN LINE WOULD HELP GREATLY. HE ALSO SUGGESTED POSSIBILITY THAT WAIVER MIGHT BE SOUGHT FROM CONGRESS FOR ETHIOPIA WHICH WOULD LEAVE ROOM WITHIN FORTY MILLION CEILING TO MEET ZAIRE'S PRIORITIES. WHEN EASUM REFERRED TO MOROCCO'S RESORT TO COMMERCIAL FINANCING PRESIDENT LISTENED. SOMEWHAT LATER HE REMARKED THAT SHAH OF IRAN WAS RICH ENOUGH TO BUY FOR CASH, FROM ALL OF WHICH WE CAN INFER HE WANTS MORE CONCESSIONAL FINANCING THAN IS PRESENTLY CONTEMPLATED. I REVIEWED M-16 SITUATION TELLING HIM IF HE WERE IN A HURRY HE SHOULD DEAL WITH COLT INDUSTRIES AND IF HIS NEED WERE LESS PRESSING HE COULD PURSUE POSSIBLE DOD PURCHASE. I ALSO BROUGHT HIM UP TO DATE ON SATISFACTORY STATUS OF C-130 NEGOTIATIONS. UMBA MENTIONED AND WE CONFIRMED AVAILABILITY OF ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS. WE TOLD HIM CADILLAC-GAGE V-150 SCOUT CARS WERE STILL ATTAINABLE. EASUM POINTED OUT LARGE BACK-LOG OF ORDERS FOR TANKS DUE TO MIDDLE EAST SUPPLY LAST YEAR AND SAID AS FACTUAL MATTER THAT WAITING PERIOD WAS CURRENTLY OVER TWO YEARS. MOBUTU TOOK ALL THIS IN WITHOUT ANY FURTHER INDICATION OF HIS INTENTIONS.

3. COPPER. PRESIDENT TOOK INITIATIVE TO EXPRESS CONCERN OVER RECENT SHARP FALL IN COPPER PRICES. HE GAVE NO INDICATION OF WHAT IF ANYTHING ZAIRE INTENDED TO TRY TO DO ABOUT THIS BUT WE KNOW THERE IS STAFF LEVEL INTEREST IN VARIOUS PROPOSALS WHICH MAY BE RAISED AT LIMA (SEE EMBTEL 8791) AND BISENGIMANA HAS TOLD US THAT HE INTENDS DISCUSS SUBJECT SOON WITH PRESIDENT.

4. ANGOLA. PRESIDENT RAISED AS ONE OF ZAIRE'S GRAVEST
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KINSHA 08964 01 OF 02 241522Z

CONCERNS AND THEN RESPONDED TO QUESTIONS. HE BEGAN BY SAYING THAT ZAIRE HAD PROVIDED REFUGE FOR WELL OVER A MILLION ANGOLANS WHO HAD PUT INCREASING PRESSURE ON ZAIRE'S RESOURCES...LAND, SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS, ETC. ZAIRE HAD ALSO BUDGETED FOR A FIFTEEN THOUSAND MAN FNLA ARMY IN ADDITION TO SIXTY THOUSAND MEMBER ZIARE ARMED FORCES. THREE TRAINING CENTERS HAD BEEN PROVIDED FNLA FORCES. OTHER AFRICAN STATES HAD NOT BORNE THIS

KIND OF BURDEN AND COULD NOT FULLY COMPREHEND IMPORTANCE OF ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE TO ZAIRE. GENERALS SPINOLA AND DE MELO UNDERSTOOD AND HIS TALKS WITH THEM HAD OPENED WAY FOR RESOLUTION PROBLEM. HE HAD STRESSED TO PORTUGUESE IMPORTANCE OF INTEGRATION OF ANGOLAN WHITES IN ONE OR ANOTHER OF THREE ANGOLAN POLITICAL GROUPS - THAT IS, THE FNLA, MPLA, OR UNITA. IN TALKING OF NEED FOR INTEGRATED MULTIRACIAL SOCIETY HE SAID HE RECOGNIZED THAT SOME OF ANGOLAN WHITE FAMILIES HAD LIVED IN ANGOLA FOR FIVE CENTURIES. HOWEVER, WHITES WOULD HAVE TO ADAPT TO REALITY, BLACKS WOULD INEVITABLY IN FUTURE WORK ON DOCKS, SHINE SHOES, HANDLE CASH REGISTERS, DRIVE TAXIS, ETC. THESE JOBS COULD NO LONGER BE RESERVED FOR WHITES. WHILE HE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT OUTCOME, THE ATTITUDE OF LARGE WHITE POPULATION WAS SINGLE MOST DANGEROUS ASPECT OF SITUATION. HE SAID HE KNEW FALCAO DID NOT ACCEPT CONCEPT THAT WHITES SHOULD INTEGRATE INTO AFRICAN PARTIES. FALCAO'S EFFORTS TO FORM WHITE POLITICAL GROUPS WERE MISCONCEIVED. IT WOULD BE DISASTER IF ANGLAN GOVERNMENT WERE FORMED ON BASIS RACIAL FORMULA, I.E., SO MANY WHITES, SO MANY BLACK MINISTERS. (HE IMPLIED HOLDEN SHOULD HAVE MAJOR ROLE.) MOBUTU DECLARED, "I HAVE NOT FOUGHT RACISM TO BECOME A RACIST. I WANT AN INTEGRATED MULTIRACIAL ANGOLA." HE HAD CONVINCED HOLDEN OF NEED FOR "SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES" (AS DISTINCT FROM CEESEZ-LE-FEU) AND HAD CHIDED HIM FOR RECENT ROCKET ATTACK AGAINST LUANDA AIRPORT WHICH HAD ENDANGERED HUNDREDS OF LIVES. HE WAS CONCERNED THAT HOLDEN HAD IN HIS STOCKS "340 TONS OF CHINESE ROCKETS." HOLDEN, HOWEVER, WITH CHIPENDA WAS WORKING FOR COMMON FRONT AMONG LIBERATION GROUPS. HE TOLD US ANDRADE WOULD JOIN EFFORT AND WHILE HOLDEN AND CHIPENDA CONSIDERED SAVIMBI TO BE TRAITOR, THEY HAD

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KINSHA 08964 01 OF 02 241522Z

AGREED THAT HE REPRESENTED SOMETHING OF SUFFICIENT IMPORTANCE TO JOIN WITH THEM IN A UNITED FRONT. SAVIMBI WAS PRESENTLY IN ANGOLA WHERE HE WAS HOLDING CONGRESS OF HIS FOLLOWERS. HE HAD TOLD BOBUQ IN RECENT LETTER THAT IF ALL WENT WELL HE WOULD COME TO KINSHASA FOR CONVERSATIONS WITH MOBUTU, HOLDEN AND CHIPENDA. AS FOR NETO, HE WAS TOO STUBBORN AND TOO MUCH CONTROLLED BY SOVIETS VIA CONGO BRAZZAVILLE. STILL NETO, WHO IS NOW IN LUSAKA, HAD ASKED TO SEE MOBUTU AND MOBUTU FELT HE COULD NOT APPROPRIATELY REFUSE TO SEE HIM. PRESIDENT MENTINED SOARES IN CONNECTION WITH NETO, DERIDING HIM AS FUZZY-MINDED SOCIALIST AND REMARKING THAT FORTUNATELY SOARES WOULD HAVE NO ROLE ANGOLA DECOLONIZATION. (MOBUTU APPEARED CLEARLY TO PREFER DEALING WITH PORTUGUESE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KINSHA 08964 02 OF 02 241328Z

41

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

----- 106155

R 241115Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9864

INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMCONSUL LUANDA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KINSHASA 8964

EXDIS

MILITARY LEADERS.) RE ZAMBIA'S ATTITUDE, MOBUTU SAID THAT IN PUBLIC THEY SAID THE RIGHT THINGS BUT BEHIND THE SCENES THEY WERE PLAYING A PECULIAR GAME OF SUPPORT FOR NETO. ZAMBIA MIGHT MAKE HIS TASK MORE DIFFICULT BUT HE WOULD MANAGE. THERE WAS ALSO PASSING REFERENCE TO NYERERE, IN CONTEXT OF TRIPARTITE MEETING FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION, AS ANOTHER MISGUIDED SOCIALIST WHO MEANT WELL BUT HAD NOWHERE NEAR MUBUTU'S GRASP OF REALITIES.

5. CABINDA. EASUM ASKED ABOUT TWO FLEC ORGANIZATIONS, GIVING PRESIDENT OPPORTUNITY STATE HIS VIEWS ABOUT CABINDA'S FUTURE. SPEAKING OF INDEPENDENCE POSSIBILITY, MOBUTU SAID, "I THINK NOT, BUT IT IS LOGICAL SOLUTION." HE CITED DIFFICULTIES THAT ARISE WHEN PARTS OF ONE COUNTRY ARE GEOGRAPHICALLY SEPARATE, CITING BANGLADESH. HE SAID RWANDA AND BURUNDI HAD BEEN ADMINISTERED BY BELGIM FROM KINSHASA BUT HAD BECOME SEPARATE COUNTRIES. (EASUM THINKS HE IMPLIED THIS WAS BAD, I THINK HE CITED RWANDA AND BURUNDI AS SIGNIFICANT PRECEDENT.) THERE WERE "ONLY TWO ALTERNATIVES." FIRST, CABINDA COULD BE PART OF ANGOLA; SECOND, IT COULD BE FULLY INDEPENDENT STATE WITH UN MEMBERSHIP, ETC. HE SAID EMPHATICALLY THAT NO RPT NO OTHER ALTERNATIVES, "INCLUDING BRAZZAVILLE," WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE. WHILE THERE WERE PERHAPS ONLY 85 THOUSAND CABINDANS, THERE WERE OTHER EXAMPLES OF MINISTATES, SUCH

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KINSHA 08964 02 OF 02 241328Z

AS FUTURE SEYCHELLES, LUXEMBOURG, MONACO, ETC. HE SAID THE CABINDA PROBLEM WAS EXACERBATED BY MACHINATIONS OF THE FRENCH WHO WERE PLAYING OIL POLITICS. FRANCE IS NOW FINANCING THE BRAZZAVILLE FLEC MOVEMENT. CABINDA-BORN RAOUL HAS RETURNED TO CABINDA FROM EUROPE (WHERE HE IS CONGOLESE AMBASSADOR TO THE EEC). MOBUTU HINTED THAT THERE WAS ANTI-US ASPECT TO THIS BUT HE DODGED MY QUESTION TO COMMENT ON FULF OIL COMPANY ROLE. HE ALLUDED TO BUT WAS NOT SPECIFIC ABOUT PROPOSED FRENCH ECONOMIC PLANS INVOLVING GABON, CONGO BRAZZAVILLE, AND CABINDA AND ELF COMPLEX.

6. SOUTH AFRICA. EASUM RAISED QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA, EXPLAINING US POLICY AND ASKING PRESIDENT WHETHER HE HAD ANY ADVICE. EASUM OBSERVED THAT US ENJOYED PERHAPS UNIQUE POSITION OF POTENTIAL LEVERAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE WE MAINTAINED AN ECONOMIC PRESENCE AND A POLITICAL DIALOGUE WHILE AT SAME TIME PURSUING A SET OF POLICIES DESIGNED TO MAKE VERY CLEAR OUR DIFFERENCES WITH MAJOR TENETS OF THAT REGIME. MOBUTU REPLIED SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS SHOULD PROMPTLY BE WITHDRAWN FROM RHODESIA WHICH HE CALLED BRITISH COLONY IN WHICH THEIR PRESENCE WAS ILLEGAL. HE ALSO SAID BRITAIN SHOULD FACE UP TO ITS RESPONSIBILITY. IN ADDITION, SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD GET OUT OF NAMIBIA, WHOSE ADMINISTRATION AND EVENTUAL INDEPENDENCE WAS UNRESPONSIBILITY. IF THESE TWO THINGS WERE DONE, IT WOULD GREATLY "ATTENUATE" SITUATION. THIS WOULD PROVIDE A BREATHING SPACE OF SOME YEARS IN WHICH TO WORK OUT THE RACIAL PROBLEM. SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID HAD TO GO BUT THERE WAS TIME IF SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BEHAVE RESPONSIBLY NOW IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. MOBUTU HAD INTRODUCED HIS COMMENTS BY SAYING THAT IF HE REPLIED "AS AN AFRICAN NATIONALIST," HE WOULD HAVE TO REPLY WITH PASSION AND EMOTION, BUT THAT HE WOULD REPLY INSTEAD IN THE MODERATE TONE OF RESPONSIBLE CHIEF OF STATE OF ZAIRE. IMPLICATION WAS THAT ZAIRE WOULD BEHAVE RESPONSIBLY IF SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BEHAVE RESPONSIBLY. HE WAS READY TO MAKE THIS CLEAR TO SOUTH AFRICA.

7. CAMBODIA. EASUM RAISED SUBJECT. MOBUTU SAID ZAIRE'S POSITION WAS CLEAR. HE RECOGNIZED THE SIHANOUK GOVERNMENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KINSHA 08964 02 OF 02 241328Z

THIS WAS ADMITTEDLY CONTRARY TO HIS POLICY THAT GOVERNMENTS SHOULD CONTROL THEIR CAPITALS, ETC., BUT THERE WERE

EXCEPTIONS TO ALL POLICIES. HOWEVER, AS HE HAD EXPLAINED LAST YEAR TO PRESIDENT NIXON AND SECRETARY KISSINGER, "THERE ARE ALSO UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN FRIENDS." ZAIRE DELEGATION COULD BE ABSENT AT THE UN VOTE IF THIS WOULD HELP. (NAP SAID THAT HE THOUGHT IT WOULD). WERE SECRETARY KISSINGER TO CONCLUDE THAT ZAIRE'S ABSENCE WAS EALLY CRUCIAL FOR US, HE SHOULD COMMUNICATE WITH MOBUTU THROUGH US AMBASSADOR IN ZAIRE. EASUM SAID WE UNDERSTOOD AND APPRECIATED IMPORTANCE OF WHAT MOBUTU HAD SAID.

8. MOSCOW TRIP. PRESIDENT CONFIRMED HE WOULD ARRIVE MOSCOW DEC 9 AND SAID THAT SOME SATELLITE EAST EUROPEAN STATES "SUCH AS POLAND AND HUNGARY" HAD LEARNED ABOUT HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW "FROM THEIR BOSS" AND HAD ACCORDINGLY ISSUED INVITATIONS. HE DISMISSED POSSIBLE VISIT TO PEKING, SEOUL AND PYONGYANG AS "DIPLOMATIC RUMORS."

9. DOMESTIC. PRESIDENT TALKED OF DIFFICULTY OF HIS TASK OF RECONSTRUCTING ZAIRE AFTER YEARS OF SEVERE WAR. HE REMARKED FRENCH HAD LEFT IVORY COAST WITH INFRASTRUCTURE INTACT, E.G., ROADS, SCHOOLS, BRIDGES, ETC. IN ZAIRE, BY CONTRAST, HE HAD TO START ALL OVER AFTER THE VIOLENCE SUBSIDED. WORK WAS STILL NOT COMPLETED. HE COMMENTED ON IMPORTANCE TO ZAIRE OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT. (INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH, HE SAID NOTHING ABOUT ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WHICH HAD COME UP ON TWO PREVIOUS OCCASIONS SINCE MY ARRIVAL IN AUGUST.) EASUM INQUIRED ABOUT STATUS OF AGRICULTURE DEVELOPMENT PLANNING, REMARKING THAT IMPORTING BULD OF FOODSTUFFS INTO COUNTRY WITH ZAIRE'S RESOURCES WAS HARD TO UNDERSTAND. MOBUTU REFERRED TO WHAT HE CALLED MISGUIDED COLONIAL AGRICULTURE POLICY WHICH EXPLOITED EXPORTS OF CASH CROPS FOR THE METROPOLE AND LEFT THE PEASANT IN A SITUATION OF MISERABLE SUBSISTENCE FARMING. HE ELELABORATED ON WHAT HE PERSONALLY WAS DOING ABOUT IT, CITING HIS MODEL FARM AT N'SELE TO SUPPLY FOOD PRODUCE TO KINSHASA AND SALONGO WORK PROGRAM. HE SAID THAT IN A MATTER OF A FEW YEARS LOCALLY PRODUCED SUGAR AND

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KINSHA 08964 02 OF 02 241328Z

RICE SUPPLIES WOULD MAKE ZAIRE SELF-SUFFICIENT IN THESE COMMODITIES, AND HE THOUGHT SELF-SUFICIENCY IN CORN

WOULD FOLLOW SHORTLY THEREAFTER. THERE WAS ALSO SOME DISCUSSION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF MOBUTU'S PHILOSOPHY OF AUTHENTICITY AND OF THE ABSOLUTE NEED TO ABOLISH IN ZAIRE SUCH ALIEN TENDENCIES AS MOSCOW AND PEKING TRIED TO FOSTER IN AFRICA.

HINTON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ECONOMIC STABILITY, MILITARY EQUIPMENT, SALES, POLITICAL SITUATION, MEETINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: shawdg
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974KINSHA08964
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740305-0603
From: KINSHASA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741020/aaaaaqwy.tel
Line Count: 331
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: shawdg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 JUN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <03 JUN 2002 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <11 MAR 2003 by shawdg>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ASSISTANT SECRETARY EASUM'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MOBUTU
TAGS: EAID, MASS, PDEV, EMIN, PFOR, PINS, CG, SF, AO, CB, (MOBUTU), (EASUM)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005